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Hopi Social Organization

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The concept of tribe when applied to Hopi is misleading, for the Hopi "do not form a tribe in the ordinary sense of the word" (Colton 1934). The prominent features encompassing the whole of the Hopi population are a distinctive Pueblo life-style and language, although slight but identifiable dialectical differences exist among communities. The Tewa-speaking community of First Mesa has a different language, but its people share in accommodating ways the general Hopi Pueblo culture, while retaining significant elements of their Rio Grande Pueblo culture. Efforts to gain "tribal" unity among the Hopi relate to Hopi social organization only as a contemporary issue, following the enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The problems that attended the efforts to achieve Hopi political unity show that such unity was not encompassed within the traditional social structure and throw some light on why such a perception of unity was antithetical to Hopi culture.

The use of the terms town, Pueblo, or village for the Hopi has also tended to distract from a clear view of the operative social organization. As Euro-American concepts they have tended to impose upon the residence groups an alien expectation of political order. The fact that the Hopi have given place-names to these residence sites and the groups occupying them has given support to the misconception. The term village has become embedded in the literature and in common usage in identifying the different residence groups, but it is used in this chapter without its Euro-American connotations to refer only to the residence sites and the specific Hopi relationships associated with them.

Hopi social structure contains a number of significant interlocking social groupings, named and unnamed. The (village) residence sites, the clans, and the societies are named groups. The households, lineages, and phratries are unnamed groups or named only by reference. Larger areas of residence sites were given American names—First (East) Mesa, Second (Middle) Mesa, and Third (West) Mesa (fig. 1). Connelly (1956) noted cluster relationships among the Hopi-named residence sites in the American-named mesa areas. Hopi individuals frequently refer to a mesa area by naming the most conspicuous village to indicate the whole cluster. It is in the data covering these named and unnamed subgroupings, both studies of their persistence and studies of the changes in them, that the social structure is most clearly seen.

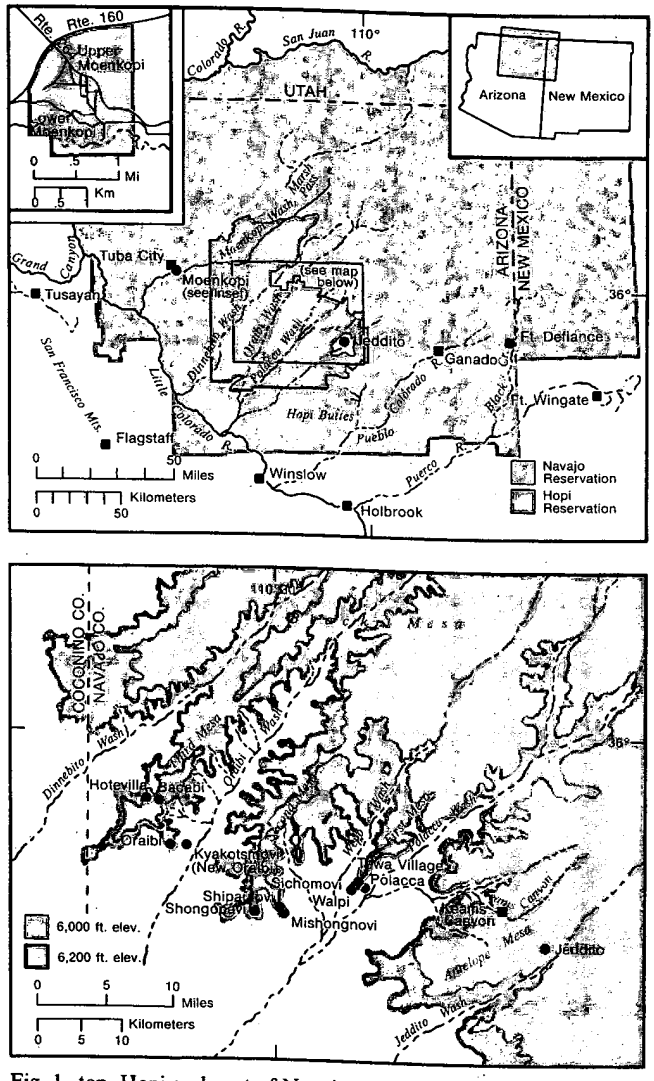

Fig. 1. top, Hopi and part of Navajo Reservations. Hopi Reservation outlined along "Mediator's Line" according to an Order of Partition issued by the U.S. District Court for Ariz., Feb. 10, 1977. bottom, Hopi village area.

The Community Clusters

Throughout the dispersed residence sites of the Hopi population there runs a common pattern of socioreligious ceremonialism and an affinity of clan identification. In

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this broad extension of clan relationships, clans operate on the level of social courtesy and reciprocity, whereas within the residence sites themselves, clan kin demonstrate stronger obligatory relationships. The distinction between nominal relationships and relationships carrying mutual obligation is of help in viewing both the clan system and the other obligatory relationships that form the structure of Hopi social organization.

Significant units within which the obligatory affinity operates may be viewed in terms of orbital relationships or clusters of social units surrounding a core unit. On the minimal level of social organization, the households (within which the nuclear families are contained) are the essential core groups in Hopi social structure. At the other extreme, the clusters of named residence sites constitute the greatest extent of obligatory relationships.

In the precarious natural environment of Hopi, the ceremonies are the instruments of supernatural management, from which arise directives for social control. In the First Mesa area (figs. 2-3) the major ceremonies are in the custody of the mother village, Walpi, and Sichomovi is in a colonial relationship, dependent upon Walpi for religious initiation. In return, Sichomovi serves as a reservoir of available population. The ceremonials must be maintained with sufficient personnel to insure their performance but protected against excess population competing to usurp ceremonial rights and status. Surplus population may be maneuvered into safe social distance if controlled by dependency relationships.

The other satellite community of First Mesa, Tewa Village, was established in historic times. The oral traditions of Hopi clans give many instances of procrastination and ambivalence attending acceptance of refugee or nomadic groups into the Hopi area and of the contractual arrangements upon which acceptance was based. First Mesa is in an exposed position, and the Tewa immigrants were assigned to protect the Hopi from intrusion (including intrusion of other Tewa) upon Hopi management of land, water, residence, and ceremonial jurisdiction. Social distance was maintained by physical separation on the narrow mesa top, reinforced by separation of role, the Tewa occupying the "prestigeless positions of warriors" (Dozier 1954:290-297). However, the bilingual Hopi-Tewa found a means for enhancing their role as guard-

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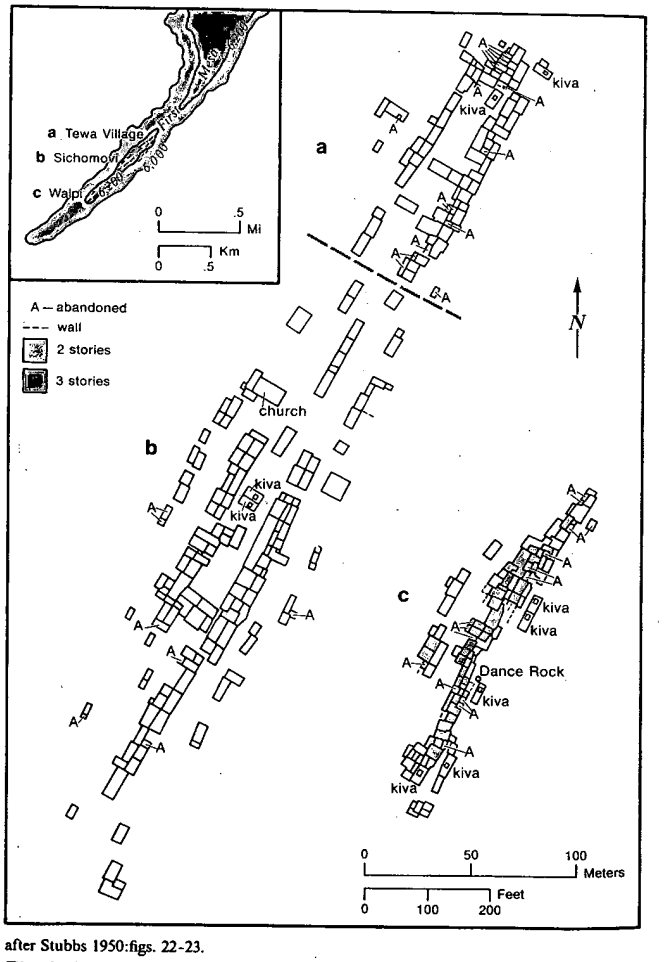
Fig. 2. First Mesa, looking northeast. Walpi is in the foreground, Sichomovi and Tewa Village are beyond the narrowing of the mesa in the middle of the photograph. Photograph by Peter Dechert, June 1977.



after Stubbs 1950:figs. 22-23.

Fig. 3. First Mesa villages in 1950: a, Tewa Village; b, Sichomovi; c, Walpi.

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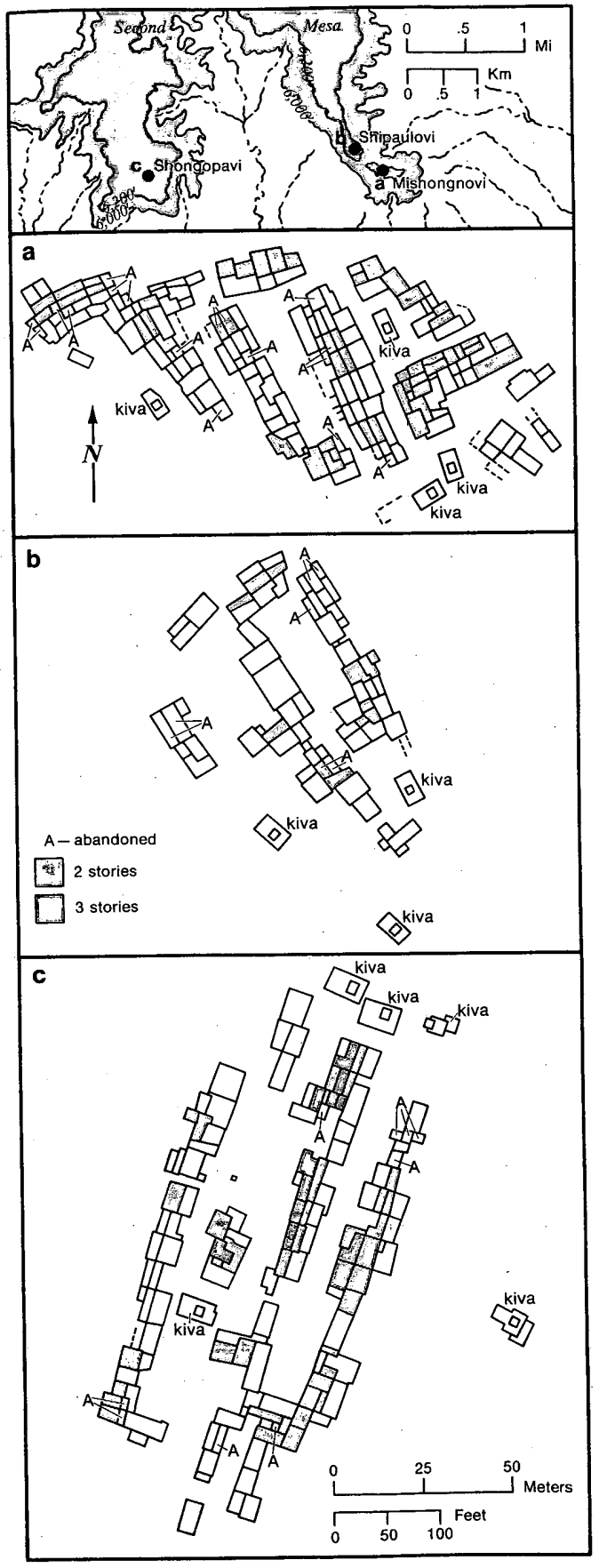

after Stubbs 1950:figs. 24-26.

Fig. 4. Second Mesa villages in 1950: a, Mishongnovi; b, Shipaulovi; c, Shongopavi.

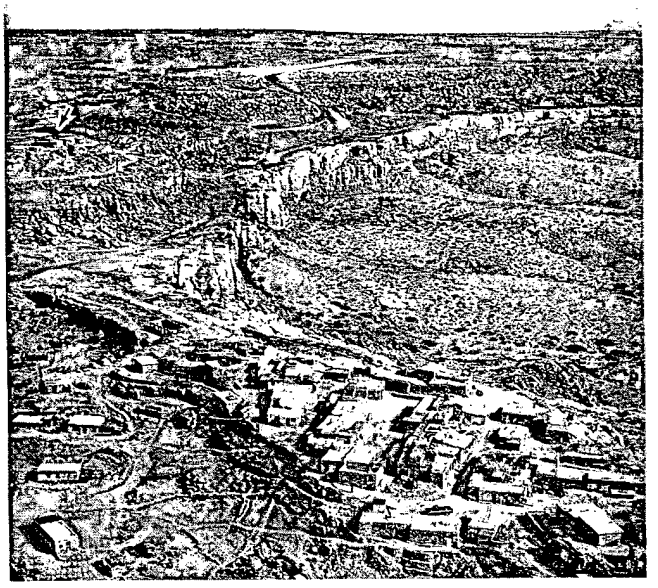

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Fig. 5. Part of Second Mesa, looking northeast. Mishongnovi is in the foreground, part of Shipaulovi is in the distance to the left (arrow). Photograph by Peter Dechert, June 1977.

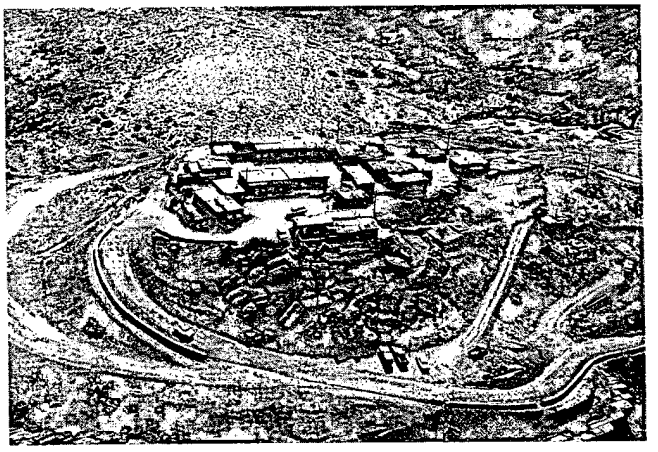

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Fig. 6. Shipaulovi, looking east. Photograph by Peter Dechert, June 1977.

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Fig. 7. Shongopavi, looking northeast. Photograph by Peter Dechert, June 1977.

ians by emphasizing Hopi dependence upon them as interpreters (hence buffers) between the Hopi and other peoples. Both Hopi and Tewa people regard Tewa speakers as more competent in English, and often in Spanish, Apache, or Navajo as well as Tewa and Hopi.

In the Second Mesa area (figs. 4–7) Shongopavi is the mother village. Shipaulovi carries a colonial role and Mishongnovi a guard role. The cluster relationship here, older than that of First Mesa, is described in tradition (Nequatewa 1936). According to legend, Crow clan people, led by one Mishon, petitioned for admission to Shongopavi and after long negotiations were assigned a location east of the Shongopavi site and charged with protecting a shrine and maintaining vigilance for the prophesied arrival of *pahá·na* ('white man'). In time they were joined by other clans, but the guard function remains as the assigned role for Mishongnovi.

According to tradition, Shipaulovi was founded by part of the Shongopavi population during the move to the mesa top following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 (Hargrave 1930). The removal of the population from its original site at a large spring in the sandhills below the mesa to the waterless mesa top undoubtedly created pressure on the population, as the springs higher up in the mesa walls were less abundant. Nequatewa (1936:46) describes the founding of Shipaulovi as a place of refuge in case of the return of the Spanish, charged with keeping account of happenings and preserving the truth in the event of the destruction of Shongopavi. Shipaulovi's colonial status is reaffirmed in the Wuwuchim (*wíwicim*) ceremony, when Shipaulovi men go to Shongopavi for initiation.

The binding relationships of the Second Mesa and First Mesa communities form two separate clusters, which represent Hopi social management in its widest extension.

In the Third Mesa area (figs. 8–11) Oraibi is the mother community. Both Oraibi and Shongopavi traditions hold that Oraibi arose from a division at Shongopavi and that the legitimacy of each would be demonstrated by its growth and prosperity. Whether or not this tradition had an effect upon the growth of Oraibi, the concentration of population at Oraibi at the turn of the century was estimated as almost equal to the six First and Second Mesa communities combined. Throughout the historical period it had been noted for its size and apparent affluence, but Titiev (1944:69) observed that fission existed early in the historical period, based on scarcity of land and water resources, and mounted in intensity for a number of years prior to its climax in 1906. He describes the protest when one faction of the divided community invited allies from Second Mesa to move to Oraibi, and the "warrior" Kokop clan (*kó·kovwiŋ"a*), which had been permitted to settle within rather than as an appendage to the village, had proved a divisive element. Most significant for Hopi social organization and behavior is the fact that the population surplus had allowed competitive religious performances and society groupings to arise within the community. The arrested process of division thus built up to an explosive fragmentation, resulting in a rapid settlement in the six residence sites of Third Mesa. Both European and non-European intrusions appear to have delayed the segmentation process; the need of the population to disperse and reconstitute was held back by fear of a Spanish return and the continuing threat of raiding groups such as Navajo and Ute. The first relief for Oraibi's overpopulation came when the distant farming site at Moenkopi began to develop from a seasonal to a permanent residence site after the raids were controlled.

During the rapid dispersal of Oraibi's population and the occupation of the Third Mesa sites, acculturation was creating new functions and roles for communities as well as individuals. Though new bases for intervillage affiliation emerged during that time, there are indications of the persistence of the clustering pattern. Old Oraibi, Lower Moenkopi, and Hotevilla form one tenuous cluster, as do Kyakotsmovi (New Oraibi), Upper Moenkopi, and Bacabi. Nagata's (1970) study of Moenkopi reveals a significant residue of older cultural patterns. The relation of Lower Moenkopi to Oraibi as a dependent colony is acknowledged in both communities. The relationships of the other Third Mesa communities are more ambiguous and become apparent only when the group behaviors of the villages are analyzed in relation to one another.

Phratries and Clans

The phratry is the largest exogamous unit; marriage is forbidden with members of all clans in the phratry, and kinship is extended to all members of the phratry. Fewkes (1907) used the name of a prime clan as a means of identification, but the phratry is unnamed in Hopi, and the rationalizations given by informants are of little help in finding any meaningful pattern in the clan groupings that form the phratries. In addition, the variation in clan-phratry grouping among different residence clusters poses a descriptive problem.

In function the phratry system is more than simply an exogamy system. Connelly (1956) made a distinction between descriptive kinship and what he terms operational kinship, a distinction apparent in the contradictions between the observed behavior of individuals or groups and the implications of the structures as described in anthropological literature. Operational analysis, as against descriptive, does not pose an issue of alternatives but adds the dimension of behavioral dynamics to the static identification of status and role.

Hopi ceremony emphasizes unity and cooperation. Operationally in the social structure, unity is evidenced in core groups around which gravitate orbital groups of varying social distance, with varying attachment through role, dependency, or obligation. This produces a competitive sociopsychological environment in which group

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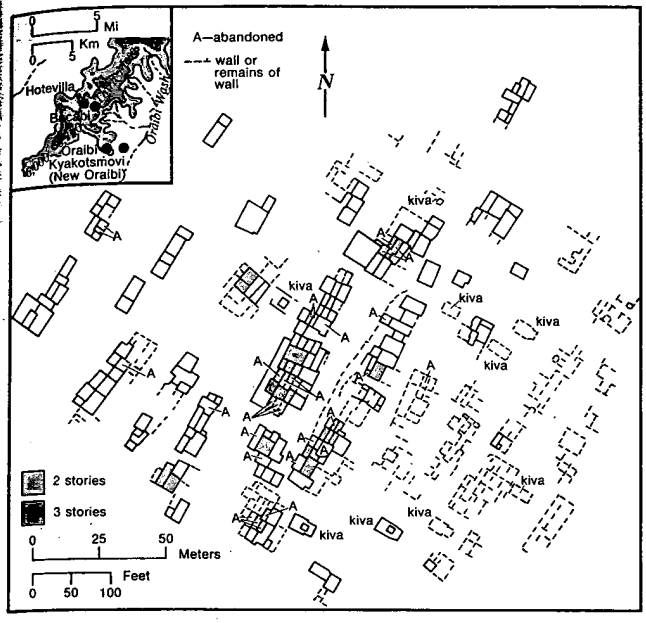

after Stubbs 1950:fig. 27.
Fig. 8. Third Mesa villages (key) and Oraibi in 1950.

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Fig. 9. Oraibi, looking northwest. Photograph by Peter Dechert, June 1977.

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Fig. 10. Terraced fields on the north slope of Third Mesa (looking south), below Hotevilla. Photograph by Peter Dechert, June 1977.

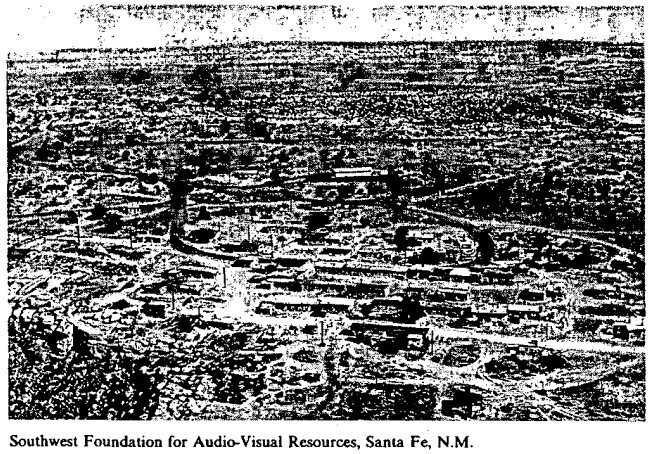

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Fig. 11. Bacabi, looking northwest. Photograph by Peter Dechert, June 1977.

validity and priority fluctuate with changes in physical environment or social change. This cooperative-competitive interplay is present throughout Hopi social structure.

Within the phratry the position, expected behavior, and responsibilities of clans are defined in relation to the prime clan. Clan lore describes the admission of each clan on the basis of its negotiations and commitments for certain ceremonial and secular services to the residence community. The clusters of associated clans thus surround the prime clan in an orbital arrangement of dependency and support, and a clan's social distance from the center is determined by the significance of its contribution. A satellite clan may shift from one trajectory to another as changing conditions require or as they provide opportunity. A satellite may even move, through the process of role-custody, into the prime position. In Shongopavi the Spider clan became extinct reportedly in the late 1800s. A lineage of the very populous Rope clan eventually took custodial possession of the Spider clan house site and in the 1950s was observed giving Spider

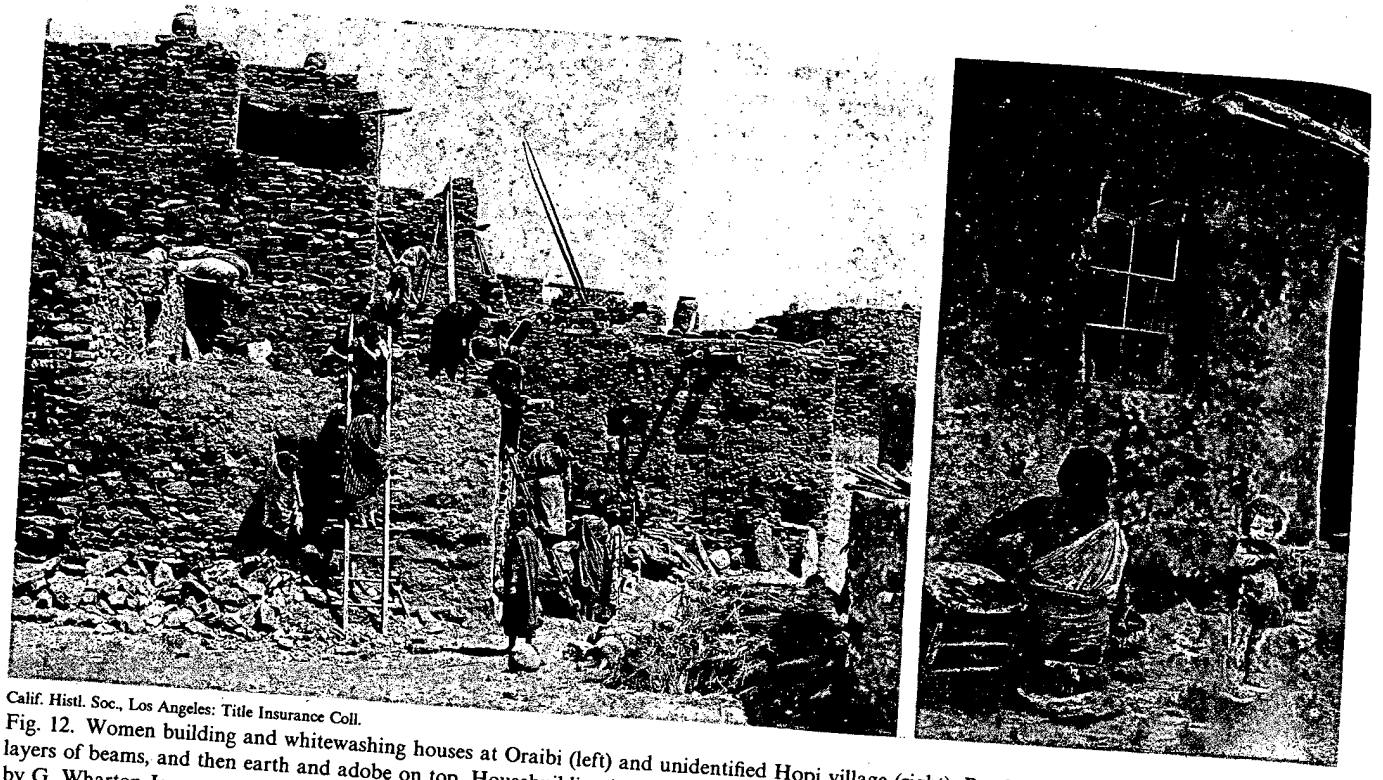

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Fig. 12. Women building and whitewashing houses at Oraibi (left) and unidentified Hopi village (right). Roof has brush and grass over two layers of beams, and then earth and adobe on top. Housebuilding is largely women's work, and whitewashing entirely so. Photographs probably by G. Wharton James or Charles C. Pierce, before 1901.

names in infant-naming ceremonies. This maneuver was a persistent process of increasing identification with Spider. A rapid move would have been subject to challenge from associate clans within the phratry, and also from within its own clan, which was at that time so numerous that its lineages had to vie for function and status. Such role transference serves not only to keep the supportive clan roles filled but also to provide roles for the excess lineages of overpopulated clans. Having a large number of lineages poses the threat of competing claims upon a clan's ceremonial functions.

Having overall responsibility for the commitments of the clans in its cluster, the prime clan is in a position to make reassignments of any ceremonial office or duty not being properly carried out. Such an assignment enhances the status of the appointed individual and kinsmen as well. The result is to wean this particular lineage away from the competing lineages in its clan toward closer ties with the prime clan.

The flexible quality of the phratry allows for the managing of population size in a physical environment where either too small or too large a population creates problems. This may explain in part why political organization appears antithetical to Hopi social patterns. Political alliances tend to produce ever larger groupings, with the goal of power to establish and retain territoriality. However, in an environment where the prime enemy is unpredictable climate and weather, large populations have been vulnerable as illustrated by the demise of the Great Pueblos. Hopi history and archeology demonstrate the importance for survival of division and balance in population.

A result of population imbalance is evidenced in the division at Oraibi (Titiev 1944:89). Of the nine phratries in the community at the time, that of Bear and Spider was next to smallest in size, and Bear had only 10 members to Spider's 23. This made the Bear clan vulnerable to challenge by its larger associated clan, the more so because of the total population imbalance in the community, as the basic challenge was to Bear's capability for carrying out its primary function of land management for the total population. Bear had no other associate clan reserves within its phratry to balance against the Spider clan challenge.

As a coordinating unit, the Hopi phratry contains competitive clan elements ready to move in toto or by lineage segments into orbits vacated by extinct or malfunctioning clans. In such maneuvers associated clans within a phratry have priority, but as there are no guarantees for survival of either clan or phratry, the functions of an entire phratry that becomes extinct may be taken over by other clans. Eggan (1950) gives an account of the demise of the Bear clan at Walpi and the last individual survivor of the affiliated Spider clan. The Snake and Horn clans from other phratries moved in, first to give assistance, then eventually to carry on certain Bear clan responsibilities in "custodial" roles.

Through such transference, contributary commitments

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Fig. 13. Family meal. Note the standard method of dipping food up with fingers (properly, only thumb, index, and middle fingers and only as far as the first joint). Photograph probably by Adam C. Vroman, 1901.

are assured of continuity and continue to govern the behavior of individuals and groups. Instances of clan extinctions and mergers, clan revivals through adoptions, and clan reidentification all illustrate the remarkable flexibility that the phratry gives to Hopi social organization.

Households and Lineages

The household, the smallest distinct unit of Hopi society, varies in size of membership and may divide into a number of adjacent or quite separate households. Titiev (1944:51), recognizing the limitations of a genealogical procedure, turned to an examination of households in analyzing population relations in Oraibi. He lists 31 clan houses (presumably the prime households or house sites) and 145 households accommodating a population of 863 people. The Shongopavi population when Connelly began his study (1944–1945) was approximately half that of Oraibi prior to its split. Connelly retained the genealogical approach together with the study of households, which revealed two significant patterns. The first, the process of sloughing off descent-line groups not needed to support a prime descent line, has the effect of proliferating households apart from the core cluster. This separa-

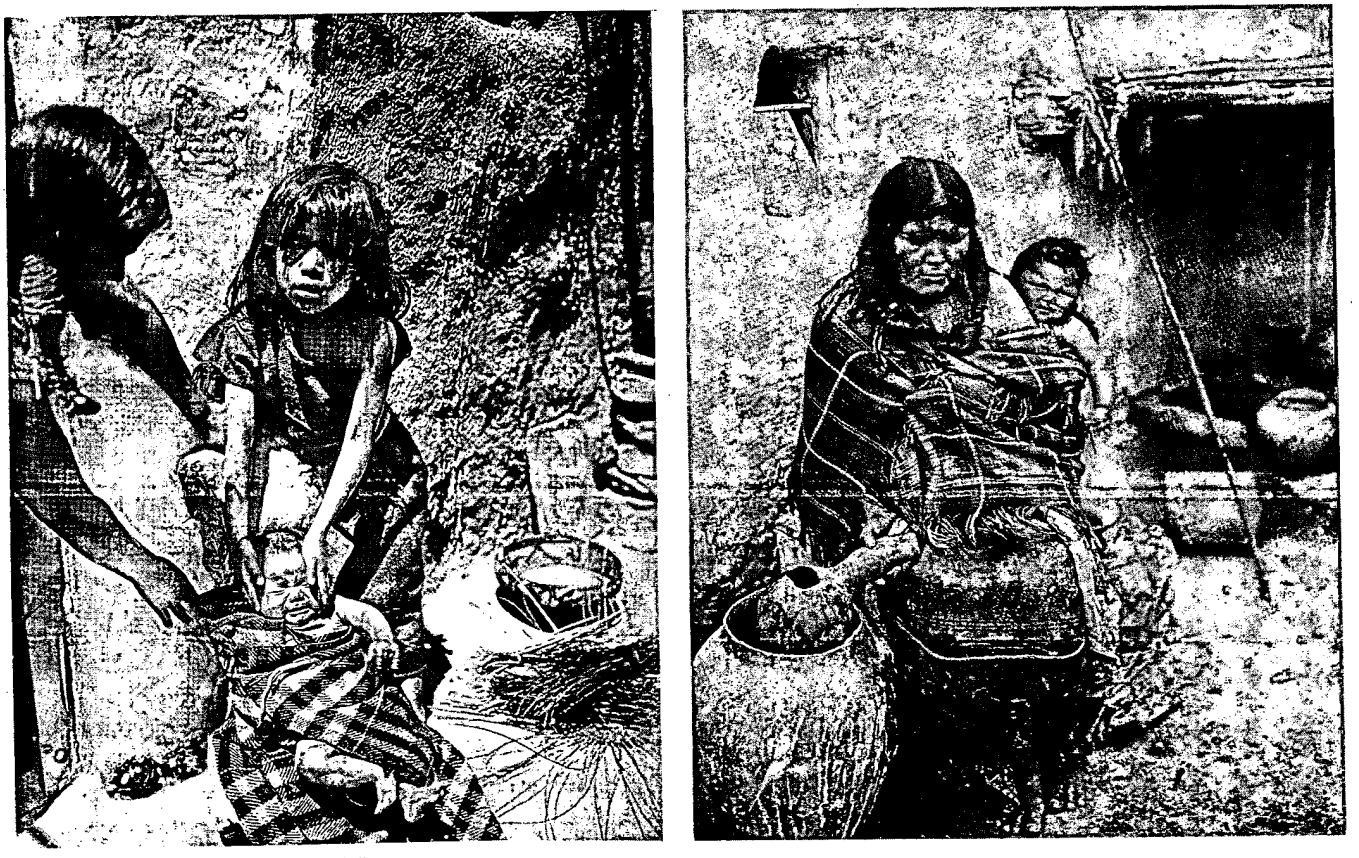

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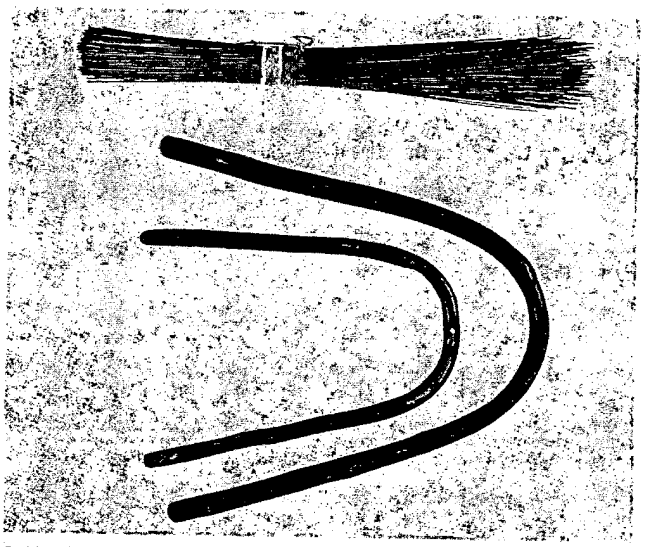
Fig. 14. Two methods of carrying babies: left, placing baby in cradleboard (with Hopi-made blanket); right, carried in (commercial) blanket on mother's back. Woman is using gourd dipper. Photographs probably 1895–1900, photographer not identified.



Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 409584, 128909, 22539.

Fig. 15. Hopi hair-dressing implements. top, Hair brush, a tied bundle of grass stems, collected 1941. bottom, Wooden hair bows over which a young girl's hair is wound to form a whorl, collected 1885 and early 1870s. The length of the hair to be wound determines the width of the bow used. Similar bows (usually smaller) were also used for dressing men's hair. Length of brush 26.5 cm, rest same scale.

tion was often explained on the basis of a "quarrel." A second is the existence of biologically unrelated lineage groups often identified as immigrant. This differentiation placed a certain social distance between the "native" lineage and the other, each developing its own clusters of descent-line households. The kinship system is maintained throughout, but the intensity of obligatory relationship is diminished by degree of social distance.

A household may consist of several biological families: adult married sisters, their husbands and offspring, the mother and her husband, unmarried brothers, and frequently a senior woman. An ideal situation can be described as a prime descent line with one or more reserve descent lines allied in a close working relationship. They may live in the same house structure, in appended house extensions, or in houses placed close together. Proliferation of descent lines may lead to forming of separate households, but these often continue in amiable relations with the prime group (generally the one possessing the recognized clan house, the *ʔi·yi* 'plant (prayer-stick)'—symbol of clan authority—and responsibility for insuring that the clan commitments are met). In a crisis situation, such as drought, crop loss, declining domestic water supply, or overpopulation, the peripheral household groups may be pressed to emigrate.

Shifts of position can take place among households within the lineage clusters, as among clans within the phratry clusters. Occupancy of the clan house and its possessions does not guarantee its residents continuance in this important position; these are custodial holdings for the clan and its continuity. In order to hold its

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Fig. 16. Women's hair styles. left, Married woman; right, postpubescent girl. Photographs by Adam C. Vroman, 1901, Shongopavi; for additional photographs showing this sequence see Webb and Weinstein (1973:76-79).

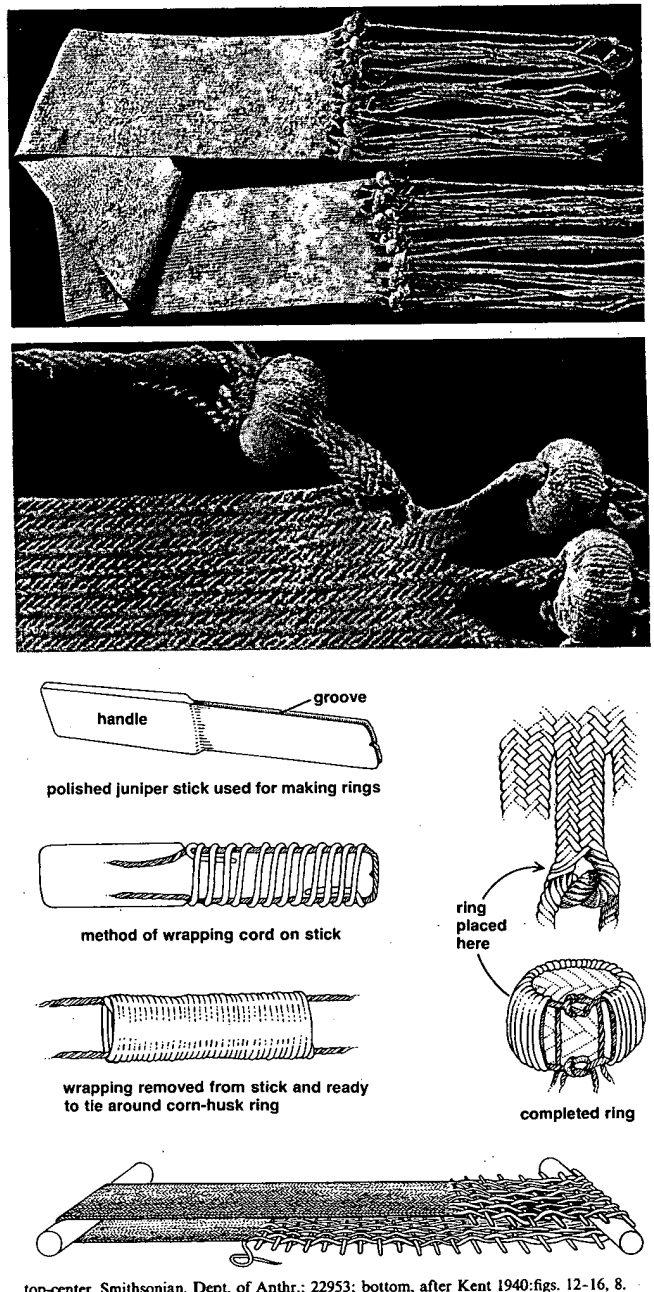
position, the prime household must insure that respect is maintained for the clan as a whole by the effectiveness with which it conducts its ceremonies and performs its obligatory services. It must have within its own membership the personnel for carrying out these duties, or else have them in ready reserve in satellite lineage households, with which it maintains close working and trusting ties. It must encourage supportive marital ties with other phratries to negate or minimize potential aggression. The central management of the prime household consists of the senior woman and her senior brother. Seniority is less a matter of chronological age than of a recognized

capability and dependability in attendance to clan affairs. Succession, likewise, is determined not by chronological age but by serious disposition, interest, and involvement in clan concerns demonstrated by members of the maternal group offspring as they develop—or as Hopi express it, reveal—their qualification. General instruction in clan lore, duties, entitlements, and ceremonies given to all offspring becomes more specific for the potential successor, finally leading to a more consultative role and more responsible participation in the required activities.

Hopi ceremonialism stresses pacification of the natural elements to prevent threatening disturbances in nature. Hopi ideology places equal stress upon pacifying, nonaggressive human behavior to counteract the threat posed by competition within the residence sites. Infant and child-rearing practices and expected behavior within the household manifest this nonaggressive ideology. The flexibility of the social system and its strain for balance operate to control competitive threat and prevent disintegration.

Mus. of Northern Ariz., Flagstaff (top); drawing after Nequatewa 1933:fig. 4.

Fig. 17. Second Mesa wedding ritual. top, New bride leaving the home of her mother-in-law, where she lived and worked while the groom, his closest male relatives and other men in the village wove her wedding robes and belt and prepared the rest of her wedding outfit in the kiva to which he belongs. The wedding outfit consists of the cotton wedding robe that she wears, white ceremonial moccasins (which, like the robe, have been whitened with a fine clay), and the reed suitcase that she carries, which contains another (larger) wedding robe and a plaited cotton belt with long white fringe (visible here). She wears a string of cotton, remaining from the weaving of her robes, in each ear. To the bride's left is her father-in-law, Edmund Nequatewa, who will lead her back to her mother's home, where her husband will meet her (see Nequatewa 1933; Titiev 1944:30-43). Photographer unidentified, probably Oct. or Nov. 1932. insert, Detail showing bottom corner of a wedding robe, which includes a prayer feather, tassel wrapped in black yarn, and plaited red yarn—all of which have symbolic significance.



top-center, Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: 22953; bottom, after Kent 1940:figs. 12-16, 8.

Fig. 18. top, Hopi braided cotton wedding sash worn by brides and occasionally by men as part of kachina costumes; length 220 cm, collected early 1870s; center, detail of braiding; bottom, Construction of decorative ring for fringe and method of braiding sash on horizontal loom. The warps are continuous, being strung onto the loom as a complete circle, and the braiding twists are held in place by the insertion of rods (for technique of manufacture see Kent 1940:46-52).

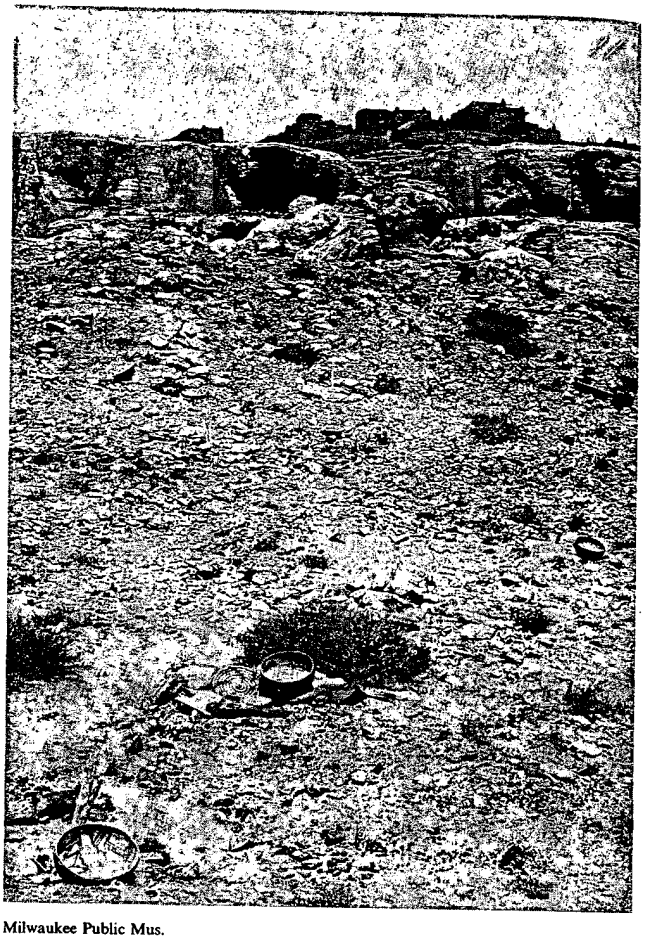
Titiev's (1944) population study at Oraibi shows a result of a lack of flexibility in balancing population. Between 1900 and 1906 there was a population loss of 28 percent: 18 percent through death, 8 percent through migration, and 2 percent unaccounted for. This reduction still left a population of over 600, still an excessive demand upon land and domestic water supply. Tensions were intensified with the split in the prime phratry, the one charged most specifically with responsibility for passive behavior. Political competition then resulted, for both factions had to gain support from among nonkin groups in their claims for legitimacy. The effect of this division was to release pressure within the other overpopulated clan-phratry groups and provide the prospect for eventual stabilization by a major separation into dispersed residence sites.

By comparison, the Shongopavi community had approximately half the population of Oraibi, less than half the number of phratries, and less than half the number of clans. The situation was more manageable there because of the avoidance of population compression through the development of an interdependent cluster of dispersed residence sites.

Societies

The ceremonial societies perform a religious function that in Hopi theory includes all life and all people. On the practical level within the society the cross-clan membership of the societies aids in preventing the concentration of power in any one group within a residence site.

Theoretically ceremonies belong to particular clans, though as Eggan's (1950:89-106) analysis shows, there are variations from one community to another as to the clan or clans recognized as being in charge of a given ceremony. Furthermore, the theoretically exclusive possession of a ceremony by a clan is considerably attenuated in practice. The long periods of negotiation for admission into the residence sites suggest that an apprenticeship was involved in such adoptions. It was necessary for the petitioning group to demonstrate the value of its power or service by performance, and the power claimed by the petitioners had to be delineated and shaped into a contributory component of the existing ceremonial order for the group to be admitted. Thus admission was gained after the revelation of many of the petitioners' procedural and instrumental possessions and their submission to accommodative restrictions. The cross-clan membership of the societies, while providing broad support for the individual clans' ceremonial responsibilities and performances, also provides a supervisory control over them. The resources of the broad society membership enable clan-based ceremonies to develop into impressive rituals, but the clearly defined domains of the separate societies disallow overlapping of function and prevent competition for specific ceremonies.



Milwaukee Public Mus.

Fig. 19. Hopi burials below Second Mesa, marked by pottery bowls and basketry plaques. Photograph by Sumner W. Matteson, about 1900.

The importance placed upon balance in the memberships of societies is seen in initiation rites. The four men's societies, Wuwuchim, Singer, Horn, and Agave, are involved in both Wuwuchim initiation and the initiation of the kachina cult. If any of the societies does not receive sufficient initiates pledged by their kinsmen, it may refuse to participate, and the initiation must be postponed to a future year (Connelly 1947-1954).

The clustering of clans within a society makes it possible to maintain a ceremony once gained without its being dependent on clan survival, since the transfer of function from one clan to another can prevent the loss of the ceremony to the community.

Kinship

For the Hopi the kinship system is "the most important element in their social structure. If kinship is considered as based on genealogical relations which are socially recognized and which determine social relations of all kinds between persons so related, the Hopi have emphasized the *social recognition* at the expense of the *genealogi-*

cal relations and have used kinship relations and behavior in ceremonial as well as daily life" (Eggan 1950:19).

The Hopi kinship system is a classificatory type with mother and mother's sisters being classed together, and father being classed together with father's brothers. Further refinements of classification are made on the basis of peer generation, supergeneration, and subgeneration. An individual's identity is in the maternal group, reinforced by the close associations with matrilineal kin in the matrilocal residency group. He recognizes maternal kin as those he is involved with on the plane of subsistence. Paternal kin are identified as supportive kin. The rule of exogamy applies to all relatives of the mother's clan, immediate and remote. Although marriage is theoretically disallowed with paternal clan kin also, breaches of this rule are tolerated with the more remote kin of the father.

The degree of intensity in interpersonal affinity among kin is greatest in the close relations of households and allied households and somewhat less with kin in clans of the phratry to which one's own clan is related. In other residence areas kin association tends to operate on the basis of reciprocal social courtesy and hospitality. An individual visiting another village need only locate the houses of his clansmen and hospitality is unquestioned.

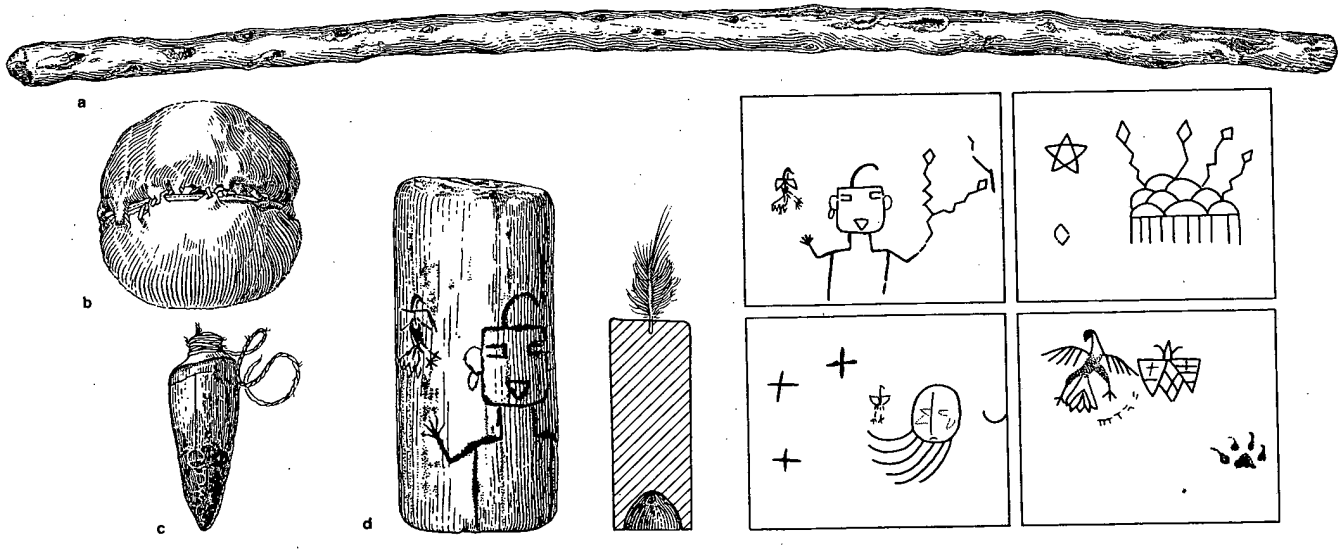
The kinship classification of individuals in identifying their relationships extends as well to ceremonial sponsors and associates and to those who have had involvement in the curing of an individual.

Eggan (1950:19-61) has provided the specifics of the kinship terminology, definition, and application. It is sufficient here to observe that the kinship system permeates the whole of Hopi society and allows for easy access from one community to another on a social basis with minimal demand, though in close-range interpersonal relations the obligations are demanding. Most important is the recognition that the kinship system, while widely differential in degree, is, like the rest of the culture, a shared understanding of human relations within a management arrangement.

Conclusion

Hopi social organization is characterized by a pattern of maneuverable management groups. A theoretical order of social prestige is rooted in the origin myths, which established highest status for the earliest arrivals, with descending positions of importance for later-arriving groups. Living in a semidesert with an unpredictable and narrow growing season and crops subject to destruction from violent spring sandstorms, prolonged drought, or torrential summer rains, the tightly knit small units of social structure are highly significant. The appearance of Hopi society as "an unstable equilibrium" (D.F. Aberle 1951:123) bears modification when it is viewed in the environmental context. Recognizing that survival and enrichment have been maintained and developed over a very long period of time in an environment of unstable equilibrium, the social organization of the Hopi appears instead as a flexible instrument of stability.

The continual process of establishing small household units, held together in strong obligatory kin groups within the manageable bounds of cooperative work groups, has provided a stabilizing effect, making possible production for survival in a natural setting adverse to large concentrations of human population. An increasing population



Smithsonian, Dept. of Anthr.: a, 22554; b, 84289; c, 84298; d, 25550.

Fig. 20. Hopi games. a–b, Wooden stick and buckskin ball for shinny, collected 1882 and early 1870s; c, wooden spinning top, collected 1882; d, 1 of set of 4 wooden cups under which objects are hidden in guessing game (Hough 1918:290), collected early 1870s. Diameter of b 11.5 cm, rest same scale. The cross section of the cylinder with its cup-shaped cavity shows the location of a feather decoration now missing on all four specimens. Diagrams to the right indicate what remains of the designs burnt into each of the cylinders.

has resulted in a segmentation process whereby new household groups have emerged as manageable work units, a process of separation and reformation without loss of kinship affinity. The extensions of kinship classification have insured position and identity within a wide range of human associations, but with greater intensity on the subsistence level. The kinship system embracing individuals in household groups of genealogical descent lines extended to include groups having different genealogical descent but accepted as having common ancestry in clan origins. It also extended to encompass other clans in the exogamous phratries. Here on each level were core groups encircled with clusters of kin as support and as reserves to provide social continuity for the ceremonial, service, and economic needs to maintain the residence sites.

In times of crisis a dispersal of population could and did result, without abandonment, as seen in the colonial residence groups of Sichomovi, Shipaulovi, and Moenkopi. The kinship ties of migrant groups were not severed, and linkages to the clan mother house and to kinsmen in the mother community were retained. This had the practical effect of moderating the alienating effects of the separation. At the Oraibi site the delay in the dispersal of population intensified the crisis of division in that area, and the rapidity of the dispersal when it finally occurred did not allow time for defined functional relationships to develop among the new communities, though kinship ties persist among all of them and with the other Hopi communities. The guard functions carried by Mishongnovi at Second Mesa and Tewa Village at First Mesa are not so clearly delineated at Third Mesa, although within Oraibi the aggressive overt behavior of people charged with the warrior-guard function was present, exemplified in the Kokop clan. The idea of guard function goes far back in Hopi thought. In clan legends and within the religious society organization, certain clans and societies hold these responsibilities.

The political organization of the Hopi population became an issue primarily after the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The problems of establishing and maintaining a Hopi tribal government devolved mainly upon the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Eggan (1950:116) in his discussion of social integration notes the lack of "a political superstructure" and comments that "the clan and phratry groups tend to assert their position at the expense of the village." Titiev (1944:68) wrote that no town was "free from strife, and never has a leader arisen to mould the autonomous villages into a coordinated unit worthy of being a tribe. Whatever other talents they may possess, the Hopi do not have the gift of statecraft." The issues of tribal and village political organization are contemporary problems still to be resolved by the Hopi in their adaptation to their changing circumstances.

Nagata's (1970) comprehensive study of change and transformation in the Moenkopi communities provides a wealth of detail on changing Hopi life not only at Moenkopi but also elsewhere. The tendency of household groups to move from the refuge on the mesa tops to the older, more convenient pre-Spanish residence sites in the sandy foothills appears in the Polacca area at First Mesa, in Kyakotsmovi at Third Mesa, and to some degree near Shipaulovi and Mishongnovi at Second Mesa. There are other movements of households to residence outside the villages; but such moves, whether to outlying farming sites or to employment locations in towns or cities, do not sever the links of kinship. The emigrant household continues to be identified in Hopi view with its clan and its affiliate clan households in the village residence site, although Nagata (1970:312–314) notes occasional shifts from matrilineal to bilateral kinship ties.

Hopi society developed a cultural and linguistic integration that allowed a sociocultural identity to arise and gave to small wandering subsistence groups a shared identity, a shared value system, and a comparative enriched subsistence. These values more than compensate for the stress produced by the unpredictable environment and ever-present potential for a division and dispersal process that are part of Hopi life. There are certain aspects of the varied socioceremonial activities that provide release from the pressures of nonaggression, obligation, and responsibility required by the tightly interlocked social units.

As Eggan (1950:116) observed:

> Hopi integration may be viewed from the standpoint of the major organizations: kinship, clan and phratry, society and kiva. Each of these organizations has various devices for increasing or maintaining its own social solidarity. Each system of organization also overlaps the others in terms of membership, so that an integration of the whole is achieved; the bonds holding individuals to household, clan, society, and kiva groupings interweave in complex fashion.

Hopi social organization in its management of small units of human association provides linkages in kinship that in their practical effect serve to communicate cultural information, to reassure identity, to promote a measure of sharing, and to assure continuity. Concurrently it provides a means for survival that gives preeminence to the survival of the whole rather than any segment, in a sometimes benign but often destructive natural environment.

Synonymy*

The English name for the Hopi (ǀhōpē) is their name for themselves: *hópi* (pl. *hóhpi* or *hopíti?*) (Whorf 1936:1221),

* This synonymy has been prepared by Albert Schroeder and Ives Goddard. The forms in the Third Mesa dialect of Hopi have been provided by LaVerne Masayesva Jeanne (personal communication 1978). The Shongopavi dialect village names in Kalectaca (1978:176) are identical with the Third Mesa forms except for lacking any indication of the falling accent.

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